Bella Coola Indians - Carbon Original Part One XIII

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practice the person who guesses correctly is a youth whom the senior members of the initiated wish to have enter their ranks. They know the correct answer, and teach it to him, telling him not to say it until a third guess, in order to give the appearance of having received no assistance. There is a slight difference between the methods of the ceremony at Kimsquit and at Bella Coola, at the former swan's down is used, and at the latter decorated mog and iqw .

(Note. The above account id a mere outline of an elaborate ceremonial which I was unable to get in detail. T.F.M.)

956 (1) In the beginning of time S nhalotl sent down to Kimsquite the words of a song to be used at Kimsquit marriages. It was first ysed at the wedding of No akila and Qa qma, and has since been used by the husband when a Kimsquit man marries, because men come before women in the world. ~~xxxhm~~

962 The father of a young lad usually arranges his marriage with the father of a maiden. If, however, the boy reaches the age of about twenty without arrangements having been made for him, he usually settles the matter for himself. In 1921 Alexander Clallaman went to Jim Pollard with a view to arranging a marriage between Matilda Clallamen, then aged about sixteen, and Captain John, perhaps fifteen, the adopted son of Jim Pollard and own son of Frank Kelly. Usually the wife is slightly older than the husband. Jim Pollard was agreeable, also Frank Kelly but the arrangement came to nothing~~s~~ because Mrs. Clallaman objected on the ground that Captain John was not Jim Pollard's own son. This first consultation is done secretly, and is sometimes performed with the assistance of an intermediary. The initiative can be taken by the man, father or otherwise who is guardian of the boy, in which case the asking is called (2) squsuatz, or by the guardian of the girl, nu n xa lt, in which case it is called (3) y tn n. If both parties agree to the engagement the boy and girl become qua, that is,

engaged, while the two families thus bound together qus ntam x. As soon as xx the matter has been arranged the father of the prospective bride-grrom sends presents, a lpoa (1) n, meaning "secret gifts", in secret to the father of the prospective bride. Also when the father of the prospective groom obtains food he gives a large quantity to the father of the girl, and the latter summons all the stalt m s, except the donor, and informs them of the qus. The father of the prospective bridegroom continues to give presents at intervals to the father of his son's bride at intervals all through the qus. Sometimes the girl's father gives presents to her future husband, this is known as ku (2) kamut. The qus may last for a considerable period, until sufficient wealth has been accumulated for the actual marriage. During this period the boy and girl may see each other, but no intercourse is allowed, and should this take place the qus would be broken and the presents already given would be returned. In the case of the children of stalt m s the qus may last for a long time, though a breaking of the agreement is by no means uncommon.

When all the arrangements are complete for the actual marriage the bridegroom's father sends an alk at dusk to summon everybody to his house. This may be either in summer or in xxxxxx winter. When all have assembled the nusi m beat time for one of the kusiut songs of one of the spectators, the person whose song has been chosen dances, while all accompany him. The nusi m use their own discretion as to whose songs they select, but as the proceedings last nearly all night they use the songs of nearly everyone who is present. An a kw l , should one be present, sings his own song. The regular kusiut songs are used, but it is a ceremony without power because siut does not come. The night's dancing and singing is known as Qw m. (3)

On the following day everyone goes to some open space near the village. The bridegroom's father is in charge of the ceremonial, the first part of which consists of oskelam (4), the distribution of pieces of mountain goat skin. These are thrown up into the air and all present struggle to obtain them. It is a time for much laughter

and good-natured struggling to see who shall be the successful recipient of each piece as it is thrown up into the air and scrambled for. The bridegroom's father has arranged for two s sacks (1) and two y tsalts to be present, the former dance while the latter sing (3) accompanied by a musi m . The song used is that which was ~~kundaxda~~ brought down by the first people to Kinsquit. It does not matter who are the s sacks and the y tsalts as long as they understand the necessary songs. The bride's father and mother make a valuable present to the bridegroom's father (2), a canoe, a musket, marten or lynx blankets etc, "to stop the song." The bridegroom's father does so and all adjourn to his house. Then the bridegroom's father stands up and orates two of his smaiusta, ancestral s sack stories, one with a girl's name and one with a boy's, and gives the right to use the name and story to the first born child, (4) which story will actually be transmitted depending of course on the sex of the child. The bridegroom's mother likewise stands up and gives two of her stories, with the same promise. This oration of smaiusta is the binding feature of the marriage. (5) The marriage ceremony is ~~q sal x or t lnos.~~ (6)

Some time after the actual marriage the ~~father~~ family of the wife must make presents to her husband, otherwise the children are not considered legitimate. He is likewise expected to give a name, the presentation being duly witnessed and ratified, to a child. As presents to her husband the bride may bring to him either stuit m , kusiut, or a ut nanes.

There is no marriage compulsion with anyone, but there are various prohibitions. No man may marry his sister, or any of his first cousins, or their children. On the other hand the favourite, though not obligatory, marriage is with a distant relative, one who has the same story. When a daughter marries her family loses with her certain of their own stories and names, which are, however, remembered both by her family and the family of her husband. Several generations later it is common for a woman of the husband's family to be married into the family which gave a daughter to her family. An exchange of children is very common where the sister of the bridegroom is married

to the brother of the bride, such an exchange is known as numnal a mtm x. This was very common in the old days and was highly esteemed as it made both families closely bound together and was a source of mutual strength.

Poor people went together like dogs without elaborate ceremony. Sometimes they married into their own family, but there was no reason for this as they had no stories which were therby strengthened.

938 A man has the right to live in his wife's village.

939 A man who has many smaiusta may rent either a tut , kusiut, or stalt m names to a person who is without smaiusta in return for money. During his tenancy of the name the holder has the right to give a dance representing the name which he holds. At the present time there are many names dormant through the heavy death rate of the last fifty years.

958 Some stalt m names were brought down from above by the first people, but others were made on this earth. An a kw l obtains a new name from the siut giving him his power: Klitcapli an a is the siut who initiates a kw l . An a kw l name is not transmitted to the owner's children unless the latter should happen likewise to be a kw l . Smao n brought spuk and in consequence Mrs. Pollard's name is x Xamapuk Xmuspukkat Anuspukha l m, "The person able to scatter spuk ". Several of the Bella Coolas have thesame name which proves that at some period of their family history they intermarried with Smao n's family.

961 The performance of a kusiut dance was a very serious affair during which no laughter or frivolity was allowed.

966 Long ago there was comparatively little divorce. A poor man or woman could change his wife or her husband without anyone caring but should a stalt a couple separate the strongest efforts were made to bring them together. Fifteen years ago a Bella Bella stalt m woman deserted her husband and fled to Kinsquit where she had intercourse with a h half-breed. The was related to Jim Pollard, so he collected six Kinsquit stalt m s who went to her house and ultimately persuaded her to go back to her husband. If a woman in such a case should bear a child it would be impossible for her to return to her husband, and in such a case the presents given by her husband to her family are not returned.

In 1919 Jim Pollard took the principal part in the arrangement and carrying out of a marriage between John Webber and Albert King's daughter. Between 1918 and 1919, the period of qua, John Webber and his family gave to Albert King and his family, in the presence of witnesses, over $1100.00. After living with her husband for a short time the girl ran away to live with Donald Mack and refused to return. Albert King was much worried and asked Jim Pollard, as the person who had taken the xxx chief part in the ceremonial to persuade the girl to return to her husband. He did so successfully and she went back to John Webber. but after a time again left him. Jim Pollard will have nothing more to do with the case unless Albert King should again ask him to intervene. During the coming winter, 1920-19, the King family will be called on to return the sum expended to the Webbers.

If the marriage had been satisfactory and permanent the King family, and especially Albert, would, in the course of time, have repaid to the Webbers more than the $1100.00, they had contributed. If John Webber had deserted the King girl there would have been no obligation on hisxpart Albert King's part to repay the money, but if he wished to do a generous action he would have done so out of kindness.

Norman Clellan married a one of Billy Pollard's daughters who diedx childless. Billy Pollard refunded the money. If a child had been born the money, more than the original sum would have been returned as six h i s, that is 'to make smooth the path

for the child', otherwise people would have been able to say to it, "You are a mere nobody, your mother's father did not buy you back from your father."

968 In the old days bachelors and spinsters were almost unknown; it was mutually beneficial because the wife provided a large share of the food.

968 A widow or widower does nor remarry for at least half a year. There is no law about this but it is considered proper to wait for this period to elapse.

968 Smao n married his daughter to N n ts mlaix, and at the time promised the name Smao n for a child of the marriage. But Snutkan alz did not have any children, so the name should ~~xxxxxhxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ not have been used by any of N n ts mlaix's family. He kept it illegally and it was used by both King George and Jack King George. This was a source of friction between the two families which was increased owing to the fact that King George had no daughters whom he could marry back into the Smao n family. Instead his son, Jack King George, married Qw k t , a woman of the Smao n family, thereby increasing the debt further. Nor did he have a daughter by whose marriage the debt could have been righted. So last year, ~~xx 1931~~, Jim Pollard, who is of the Smao n family, gave a m at which he took for himself the h name Smao n. Jack King George was very angry, but could do nothing because he had no valid claim to the name. This feud would never have taken place if Snutkan alz had had any children. (NOTE. About 1916 Jack King George's sister(?) and mother were murdered at Kitsequit. The murderer was never detected, but the suspicions of both whites and Indians point to ~~xx~~ Jim Pollard. The other Indians state that there was feud between the two families, of which the above account is at least one, if not the only, cause. Whether or not Jim Pollard is guilty this shows that in the Indian mind a murder for this

daughter's child. There is seldom dispute between them as to whom shall inherit which story. Sometimes if a ~~xx~~ stalt m has no sons and a married daughter has only daughters, the daughter will assume her father's stalt m name and have the right to sit with the stalt m s at stalt m business, otherwise the stalt m name would have been lost. Likewise if a man does not carry out the proper ceremonial to keep his name bright his ~~xxx~~ sister will sometimes step in to rescue the name from the dirt.

§74 Whistles are only used at a sa'ok ceremonial, and are hidden from the uninitiated with great care.

§75 The Bella Bellas used to replace at inter vals the coffin in which a corpse was buried.

§76 When a a sa'ok person dies the body is laid on its back between the fire and the gluata. It is washed and dressed in good clothing. A brother, or other near relative of the deceased sends an alk to summon the inhabitants of the same village. (The Bella Bellas call in friends from outside.) All assemble; the nusi m taking up their station between the fire and the corpse, the others wherever they like. The nusi m sing quietly one of the dead person's a sa'ok songs, and all join in, while one of his near relatives dances in his stead. Then from a distance there is heard a strange booming sound, it is al q metas di stalt m , that is "the voice of the stalt m ", it is caused by a hidden assistant blowing a large wooden whistle. Presently a thump is heard on the roof at the back of the house, and ponderous steps draw near to a place over the corpse, this is M tlakila, an important siut with whom the a sa'ok had been in contact. At the same time the crying of an eagle, assuming that the first ancestor of the deceased had been an eagle, is heard. Then the siki, the person qualified to

On the beach the Kimsquit people again sing, standing up, while the Kimsquit siki canoes, as does the Bella Coola siki on the platform of his canoes. The Bella Coolas likewise sing, choosing a sea song which they all know, and their siki dances. Then the Kimsquit siki makes the motion of throwing something to the Bella Coola siki, the latter pretends to catch it, and at the same time a Bella Coola man hidden beneath the platform of the canoes sounds another whistle, which persuades the uninitiated that power has really been transmitted to him to cause this strange noise. The Bella Coola siki now revolves four times sunwise accompanied by the drone of the whistle, then he throws back his cloak and there appears to sight a mask representing M tlakila, it has reallly been concealed beneath his cloak all the time but to the uninitiated it appears that this object has been formed from nothing by the aiut which they have just been hearing. Then he revolves around four times more with the mask visible and the booming of the whistle plainly sounding. If the Bella Coola siki wishes to dance at K's m, he does not return the power which he has received from the Kimsquit siki, and which will enable him to do so. In this case the Kimsquit siki at once leads the way into the house. If, on the other hand, he does not desire to dance,he makes the motion of throwing the power, or whatever it is that he is supposed to have received back to the Kimsquit siki, who goes through the motions of receiving it, and at the same time produces from his own cloak another mask of M tlakila, which he has carried for this purpose. and at the same time the Bella Coola siki slips his out of sight. The Kimsquit siki revolves on himself four times while a whistle, worked by a neighbour with a large cloak, booms, then he makes the motion of throwing it into the house, from where there issues the same whistling, made by another assistant with another whistle. To the uninitiated it appears that the whistling only comes from the place where the power has been cast.

Everyone now goes to the house, the Kimsquits remaining near the door without distinction of rank, the Bella Coola guests carefully ranged, stalt s of the highest rank behind the fire, those of intermediate rank on eaither side nearest the back wall,

and those of lower rank next the last but nearer to the door. All are seated. Two youths, chosen by X for the purpose, sprinkle oguk over the heads of all present, beginning with the stalt m s, while the Kimsquit siki stands up and speaks, "Thank you for coming, I am glad that you have done so. We have gathered to see what X has done, he is glad that you have come, because he has lost many of his relatives. He does not want to forget them those who have gone before, and they too would be angry if he did grieved keep them in remembrance because they are siut and know all that we do." A number of Kimsquit youths place food boxes, pai s, before the guests, usually about one box to every four guests, though an important stalt m might have a box to himself, there is no fixed rule about this. The first food put in the boxes is always dried kono salmon, wais, ax with which olachen grease is served. The next course is at is, the berries of Viburnum Pauciflorum, which are eaten from a com m, circular wooden dishes, with a spoon for each man, kwanit . There is no variation in the choice of food given on these occasions.

As soon as the at is has been eaten the Bella Coola siki stands up and shakes, nalh a, his rattle, y t n, which is a signal that he is ready and desirous of dancing. The Kimsquit siki likewise stands up and the Bella Coola siki contorts himself and pretends to extract his own power from his stomach, and to throw this power across to his Kimsquit collegue. The latter goes through the motions of catching something, calls out "h ip " violently several times, pretends to project something, the power which he has just received, into the qlusta, and then sits down. Meanwhile the Bella Coola guests, led by their nu si m , are beating time and singing while their siki dances. When he has finished another Bella Coola s sack wishing to do so will dance, and then another, until perhaps twenty have done so in succession, while the Kimsquit hosts merely watch. The Bella Coola nusi m know the s sack songs of their own people and each man owns his own. Sometimes a dancer wears his own s sack mask, but this is entirely optional, and many performers do not do so. It may be nearly dawn

before this part of the ceremonial is completed. Then the Bella Coolas give presents to all the Kimsquits, the stalt m s receiving more than the common people. The guests then leave the house, each Kimsquit man taking one or more of them to his house for the night and providing them with breakfast the next morning.

On the following morning a number of lads assemble in X's house where they help him to cook ya kit , dried and smoked mountaingoat meat. When X was making his preparations he went off into the mountains for the goats, accompanied by a number of youths whom he paid to help him. Sometimes the meat is smoked for a month when the goat has been killed. On the preceding night this smoked meat was placed in water for soaking, and it is now placed in a number of nus umpta, boxes of varying sizes, in which it is to be given to the guests. A big fire is built in which stones are heated and, when red hot, are lifted into the various boxes containing food. As the water boils mountain goat grease is added, and later m l x , the berries of Arctostaphylos Uva-Ursi. The meal is ready about 2,00 o'clock and the guests are summoned. The food has been divided so that the stalt m s receive more than the commoners, and all wait on them and look after their wants. After eating the people again leave the house, having been invited to return at dusk.

When the people assemble in the evening they take up new positions, the Kimsquit numusi m and women occupying the position between the fire and the qlusta, while the guests range themselves along either wall. There is no dancing, instead the Kimsquit numusi m lead off with a new song which they have composed for the occasion, dealing with a number of lads, relatives of X's whom he intends to bestow names on the following day. These lads are constantly concealed within the qlusta where they act as guardians for the qiut which is centred there. The song is sung and resung until the audience has learnt it, when they again leave the house, the Bella Coolas as before receiving hospitality in different houses. This night's part of the ceremonial is known as n ts.

Early the following day the guests re-assemble for astiqan. The Bella

proper course by a parent or relative. I repeat this procedure for as many youths as are concealed in the platform awaiting to receiving names. Then we crisp out, "yupa di kusiut tai."

announces, "That is so-and-so, (giving the deceased's name), he is lonesome and returned to visit us." If the m is being given for several dead relatives, each will enter in succession, wearing the bird or animal disguise of his ancestral story, while whistles produce the proper accompaniment, the crying of an eagle, the croaking of a raven etc. The s sacks understand that these are not really the deceased people but they school themselves into a believing frame of mind, and unite in deceiving the uninitiated. When the last figure has withdrawn X begins the distribution of presents, in which a number of the Kimsquit people help him. First he repays to all the stalt m s goods which he has received from them on previous occasions, this applies to numit stalt m s, stalt m s, and a tut s. Next he gives presents to all the poor people present, these are real gifts and no return is expected. Then X makes further presents to the stalt m s: the amount returned to each over and above the original debt being known as abwhe k m. The amounts so returned have no reference to the rank of the recipients, but depend in part of X's volition, and in part on the length of time that the debt has been outstanding. Thus $100.00 received five years previously is returned with larger interest than $100.00 received three years previously. If a man dies leaving debts unsettled these are repaid by his sons, but if there should be no heirs the amount is lost; there is no hard feeling in such a case because the stalt m s regard one another as intimate associates, and understand each other's circumstances. If a man is unable to repay what he has received there is no friction, but his name ceases to have influence; this is a great disgrace. When almost all the goods have been distributed some influential Kimsquit stalt m rises and makes a speech, recommending all present to bear in mind their respective amniuatas, and never to forget the precep's of their fathers.

When the goods have been distributed a Kimsquit s sack emerges from the qlusta, stands near the fire and beats with a stick, as he does so calling to one of the concealed youths and adressing him by the name which was used for him when a baby.

983 The word for a box, any kind, is pa kay l a. In the language of Qwax, that is probably in an ancient dialect now considerd mythological, it is t k am.

985 The power of the stalt m lies in the fact that he has given ms, the more he has given, the greater is his influence. Until he has given three ms he is not an stalt m , but remains an a tut . A poor man, even thoughx he be the rightful owner of many stories is unable to use them, because he has not the goods to give away to validate his stories.

1000 If the d kd k alaix ceremonial is not to be performed at Kimsquit an important kusiut is begun on the night after the m is completed, while the Bella Coola guests are still there. Towards dusk the tukusiut gather in X's house, sometimes a few amkl msta, those who are not initiated into the kusiut ceremonial, but they take no part in the ceremonial and xkx are frequently forbidden admission. Everyone sits down, without reference to rank, as is always the case in kusiut ceremonial. Then the kusiut siki, withx a few assistants, goes out to fetch Numuh mlaix, a woman with whose name goes the right to perform this particular ceremony. As she enters, wearing a moq collar and epuk in her hair, everyone beats on the floor with sticks. She stands near the fire into which a man, Skoxlikwana, casts a small quantity of moq , iqw , and olachen grease; the right to do this belongs to whoever possesses the name Skoxlikwana. As he throws the material into the fx fire he cries out, "Please go to H mh m lotla, (who is also known as O qoxem, "the receiver of many gifts"), as an offering" while Numuh mlaix dances round the fire uttering "h ip, h ip ", and throwing her hands aloft as if h she were assisting by bodily means the transmission of the sacrifice to the siut aloft. Then she returns to her place and Skoxlikwana throws more moq , iqw, and x olachen grease on the fire, saying, "Please go to Nemcus as an offering", and as

before Nunuh mlaix dances and gesticulates. In succession an offering is made to Omqomkilika, Aim lotla, Aimk l ka, Qomcua, Qlwahoa, Kulilias, Atma q, and Klitcapliwhana, in the same manner as that described for H mh m lotla. With the exception of Klitcapliwhana these are siut residing in Nusmata whom Nunuh mlaix is able to summon by means of her sacrifice, the iqw and moq , the olachen grease is merely to cause a bright flame which carries the essence of the offering to the siut. Klitcapliwhana is the siut who gives a kw l to mortals, he usually resides on this earth but at intervals returns to Nusmata. He is invisible to a kw l s. In some way he appears to reside in the fire and offerings of food are thrown into the fire for him when a man is absent hunting mountain goats or on the ocean. As soon as the offering has been completed Nunuh mlaix uses a small whistle fashioned from a mountain goat bladder and concealed under her arm-pit beneath her blanket. As this sounds the amkl msta, if any, near the door are ordered away, and an alk goes from house to house crying out, "Keep quiet you young boys", at the same time summoning to X's house any kukusiut who have not yet assembled. The amkl msta, hearing from the other houses, believe that the whistling is the voice of the siut.

The nunusi m sing a song concerning the siut to whom the sacrifice ahs been made and concerning the sacrifice itself. If the song made on the preceding year was good, this repeated, but if not a new song has been made during the summer and it is this which is used. Meanwhile Nunuh mlaix dances. Then the song is resung, the audience of kukusiut listening attentively and joining in where they can, while the woman continues to dance. This procedure is repeated until all present have learnt both words and tune. Then the nunusi m , who know all the songs, strike up a kusiut song of one of the spectators, all join in, and the person whose song it is dances. No mask is worn, because it is not a serious affair, merely a good time. One song after another is given until many, if not all, of the audience has taken part, the performance often lasting till near dawn, to the envy and mystification of the

amkl mata in the other houses. Long ago only gray-haired men could become kusiut, the younger people had dances of their own as a lk. When they have dances enough the people disperse.

In the morning the kukusiut return to X's house where they are given food, after which the strong xaaaax men set off in canoes to collect alder wood for making masks, no amkl mata would dare to think of gaix trying to join the expedition. Towards dusk they return to X's house, carrying the wood, the other kukusiut are called in, and X gives them food. The nunuskamp , carpenters, are present with their t xta, chisels, and X asks each of them to make a certain mask or masks. They sit down and start their work at once, while the nunusi m sing a new song, the second for Nunuh nlaix. As before the kukusiut listen carefully and learn this. When this has been done the people disperse, not staying as late as on the preceding night.

Early the next morning the X nunuskamp are called back to work at the masks in X's house; they work faithfully because their handiwork must be completed before evening. About noon other kukusiut are called in to share the "carpenters' food", provided by X. Towards nightfall all the chips and other signs of work by mortal hands are carefully swept up and burnt, because to-night, the night of qotl m, the amkl mata are to be present. Both men and women wash and make themselves beautiful, the lads warming water and assisting their lady friends to wash. All kukusiut, except alhotla and a few other powerful kusiut dancers, blacken their faces, while the men don their p naxta, dance aprons decorated,xkkk and wear moq around their wrists and ankles; the women wear xaix toi p, pubic garments of mountain goat wool. The amkl mata likewise bedeck themselves, but do not blacken their faces. The lulusta, masks, representing K nh n lotla, Hemcua, Omqomkilika, Aim lotla, Qomcua, Qlwahoa, Kulilisa, Atsn q, and Klitcapliwhana are suspended by means of moq streamers from a pole which runs in a slanting position from the floor in front of the qlusta to the cross-beam behind the fire. First the kukusiut are called in and take up their